THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ROUND TABLE

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ITALY

A Radio Discussion by

- GIUSEPPE BORGESE
- HAROLD DEUTSCH
- LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

459th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 247

DECEMBER 13, 1942

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; five copies, 25 cents; full-year subscription, 52 issues, two dollars. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

No. 247

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

ITALY

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE

BROADCAST COAST TO COAST BY
THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1942, AT 1:30 P.M., C.W.T.

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Harold C. Deutsch, Department of Modern European History, University of Minnesota

Louis Gottschalk, Department of History, University of Chicago

(*See pages 20–21 for further information*)

The Round Table, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

ITALY

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"Agony grips the fair land of Italy," declared Winston Churchill, as British and American planes bombed Italian cities. Is this part of the effort, which is generally assumed to be a major objective of the not too distant future, to force Italy out of the war? Will it be effective? Can Italian Fascism be defeated by military action alone?

What is the background and history of Italian Fascism? What is its strength in present-day Italy? What chance does a democratic government have? Who would make its potential leaders? What about the role of the royal family, the army, and the church in Mussolini's Fascism? What is the place of Free Italy? Who are its leaders?

To discuss these and other important issues, the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *presented three expert observers.*

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MR. GOTTSCHALK: This morning's newspapers carry a statement by Secretary of War Stimson to the effect that we are thirty days ahead of schedule in North Africa. Mr. Stimson and others, however, have also indicated that what is going to take place in North Africa is likely to be a long duel. It seems rather contradictory that we should be thirty days ahead of schedule and, at the same time, be in for a delayed action in North Africa.

MR. DEUTSCH: I think that these statements should have a very healthy effect on American opinion, since our people have been taking much too much for granted of late. I'm afraid that they've been counting our chickens before they've been hatched. These statements should give us some perspective. We know already that

we cannot invade Italy until we take Tunis and Bizerte. If we are made to realize that this may be a long-drawn-out affair—a matter of six or eight or ten months—then we perhaps will pay more attention to other means of smoothing the road to victory. Don't you think so?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Before you speak, Mr. Borgese, I think that it is important that our readers and our listeners recognize that you speak with unusual authority.

I should like to point out, with your permission, that you held official and unofficial posts in Italy before the rise of Fascism. I would also like to say that Mr. Borgese came to this country eleven years ago and has been an American citizen for several years. Further, he is especially important because he has written the authoritative work on Fascism under the title of *Goliath.*[1]

MR. BORGESE: Thank you, Mr. Gottschalk. I think that I agree on the whole—that the real prize of the North African expedition is Tunis and Bizerte.

Up to the present moment we cannot judge whether the latest partition of France has been rather to the advantage of the Axis or of the Allies. Up to this moment the Axis has in its power the stranglehold of the Mediterranean between Tunis and Sicily. If the new attack of the British Army against Rommel means a pincers movement, then, we could have a great success before the dates outlined by Stimson.

Whenever we have Bizerte and Tunis in our hands, the stranglehold becomes a jumping-off place for an action toward Italy. But what the jump will be we cannot know at the present moment. One of the elements, either soon or late, will be Italy, but our action then cannot be military alone.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I am thoroughly agreed with the last point

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[1] G. A. Borgese, *Goliath: The March of Fascism.* New York: Viking Press, 1937.

of your statement—that our action cannot be military alone. It seems to me that we must associate our military action with diplomatic and political action.

MR. DEUTSCH: I certainly should think so. The trouble with us in the past has been that we've had certain attitudes about Italy which are definitely dangerous. Take, for example, this myth of Italian faint-heartedness. We've assumed that Italians run best backward. That leads to the crime of underestimating the enemy, which is always the worst in war. If we look at the history of the last war we'll find that Italy suffered over six hundred thousand casualties and did a most remarkable job in overcoming geographical obstacles in attacking Austria.

In recent years, that record has been repeated perhaps more than we realize. We often make fun of the Italians because of the defeat at Guadalajara, in Spain, during the Civil War there. We have often forgotten, however, that on the Loyalist side one of the most heroic groups that took part in that battle was the Garibaldi Legion. Even the history of this war will show episodes like Gondar, in Ethiopia, where the resistance was of a truly heroic nature when the Italian soldier felt that his honor was at stake.[2]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I agree with that thoroughly. As an historian, it seems to me clear that the Italians on a number of occasions have, when their heart was in the fight, acquitted themselves with glory and courage.

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[2] "When Fascism, having spread over Europe, started the World War in Spain, Italians volunteered by thousands to fight for democracy. Their heroism for which they paid dearly—the Garibaldi Brigade alone lost 2,000 out of a total of 3,100 men—defeated the Fascist armies in many battles and proved that Italians can fight as bravely as anyone if they fight for their own cause. . . . ." From Riccardo M. Luzzatto, "Fascism in Italy," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 26, 1942. Also in *Italy against Fascism*, published by Quaderni Italiani, in September, 1942, there is the following statement: "Those who look down on the Italian people should remember that, during World War I, six hundred thousand Italian soldiers died for the Allied cause and that Italy's contribution was essential to the Allied victory."

Mr. Borgese, one of the misconceptions that is almost as bad as, or perhaps worse than, the idea that the Italians are not good soldiers is the idea that Fascism, in its Italian aspects, is a joke—is not to be taken seriously. Do you agree with that?

MR. BORGESE: I agree with you that it is a very dangerous prejudice, because it paves the way for dishonorable and dangerous compromises.

As a matter of fact, the country where I was born has the dishonorable privilege of having invented Fascism, not of having imitated, in a blander and forgivable way, Naziism, as the common man seems inclined to believe.

Fascism arose in Italy in 1922, and Fascism cannot be defined except in this way: It is the substitution of the idea of power for the idea of justice—the substitution of the idea of violence for the idea of charity. It is the horror of our age, and we cannot consider it in a bland and forgiving way in the land of its origins.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Then we are agreed that the Italians are good soldiers when they need to be, or when they want to be. We are agreed, also, that Italian Fascism is no less grave and dangerous than German Fascism.

ANNOUNCER: *Many* ROUND TABLE *listeners ask if we can get Italy out of the war by some means other than invasion—for example, by making peace with the Italian King and army, as Walter Lippmann has suggested. Do you think that this proposal is feasible or desirable?*

MR. BORGESE: A highly regrettable proposal it is. I think that if it were enacted it would mean an immoral and demoralizing adultery. It denies the real essence of Fascism. It supposes that one can dissociate some of the worst criminals in the whole adventure from others. It proposes to Italy a deal that would be far more bitter and far worse than the deal with Darlan.

MR. DEUTSCH: You must recognize that many people have said that a deal with Darlan was necessary; that it saved many lives;

that in fact the whole outcome of our offensive in Africa might depend on that deal. How are we going to reconcile that with the view that such deals cannot be made?

Mr. Borgese: If we want to win the war side by side with Fascism, then we can go as far as not only Darlan, not only the King of Italy, we can go as far as Goering or even as Hitler, if Hitler decides to undergo a conversion. But if we want to win the war against a horror of our age and if we want to be on the right side and not on the other side of a material victory, if we want to have a peace, we must distinguish very neatly between the cause of the democracies and the cause of Fascism.

Mr. Gottschalk: Darlanism, I agree, is pertinent to this discussion only if it deals directly with Italy. The question of French Darlanism, I think, we should leave out of consideration. Consequently I raise the question as to who are the potential Darlans—the potential pro-Fascists—that we may ally ourselves with in Italy?

Mr. Borgese: After all, in the common opinion it is the monarchy. The monarchy in 1922 was not an accessory or a victim to the Fascist crime. It was a principal to it. The Fascist Revolution was no revolution; it was a coup d'état, engineered in the royal palace. Mussolini was not at the head of an insurrectionary army; he was in Milan, and he traveled in a comfortable sleeper to Rome, after the call from the king. How can we distinguish the partners in the crime?

Mr. Deutsch: I think that it's vital, too, to point out that not only the king but the whole royal family are pretty much in the same boat. For example, the Crown Prince is a man of even less stature than his father. There's no hope of turning to any other members of his family if we should decide that Victor Emmanuel himself were unfit to adopt such a role.

Aside from the royal family, there is the army. The army cer-

THE ITALIAN EMPIRE

How Large Was It?

tainly has played very much the same kind of role and has been quite willing to associate itself with Fascism when its interests seemed to require that.

A third interest has been the Catholic Church in Italy. What do you think, Mr. Borgese, about its connection with the Fascist movement?

MR. BORGESE: The Christian principles that are behind the Catholic Church, of course, prevent the Church from being a constant and sincere ally of Fascism which is fundamentally anti-Christian. On the other hand, the tendency of the political Church toward totalitarianism, in earthly power which is totalitarianism of a kind, makes it inclined toward compromises and alliances with Fascism.

As a matter of fact, in 1929, the Treaties of the Lateran that gave to the Papacy not only a small territory, but a very large amount of money which was handed to it by Fascism, made of the official Catholic Church a partner and a shareholder in the Fascist concern.

To suppose that when the destiny of the war has been decided in favor of the Allies the Church may declare itself moderately pro-Ally is sensible. To anticipate that the official Catholic Church can start or favor a movement of disintegration in Fascism before a fundamental Allied victory is fanciful.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I agree that the royal family is too much tarred with the Fascist stick to make a good enough antagonistic force for us to uphold. The same is obviously true of the army. While I think that the attitude of the Church presents a more complex problem, I, nevertheless, feel that the Church has co-operated on so many occasions in the past with Mussolini that the Church does not make an adequate substitute for Mussolini in Italian or in liberal opinion in general throughout the world.

Because it seems to me that it is an allied point, I want to raise the point that a number of developments abroad—a number of

statements and acts of cooperation abroad—with Mussolini have likewise nurtured Fascism.

MR. DEUTSCH: I'm very glad you mentioned that because in justice we certainly ought to include in the consideration of forces that have accommodated themselves to tie into Fascism the foreign influence which certainly was considerable from the very early period. Both in Britain and France there was a strong feeling that the Fascist regime promised order and authority in a land where previously there had been considerable political confusion. All through the twenties and thirties we had considerable support of the movement from the outside, especially of the economic order.

As late as the very eve of this present war, we had a series of statements by present leaders of the United Nations who still expressed at that time a great admiration of Fascism.

MR. BORGESE: That goes very far back. It was not only the Chamberlains that held Fascism in high esteem.

Austen Chamberlain rushed to Italy to shake the hand of the murderer of Matteotti, soon after an assassination that had made the situation of Fascism tottering.

But even Churchill, whatever may and must be our admiration for this hero of British resistance, not only expressed himself glowingly about Fascism in 1927, but as late as September 3rd, 1938, in *Collier's*, extolled Mussolini far above Washington and Cromwell and supposed that Fascism was an excellent thing and praised the king for having recognized and accepted it.

What authority can propaganda by people like this now have upon the Italians?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I think that it is perfectly clear that a statement by a leader of public opinion in the United Nations, earlier friendly to Mussolini, must undermine the influence of that leader among the Italian people.

I want to summarize what we have said so far with regard to

Darlanism. We are agreed that the royal family, the army, the Catholic Church, and certain kinds of leadership abroad do not tend toward an effective kind of Darlanism, if we can talk of Darlanism as effective at all for Italy. That may not dispose of that question, but I think that we must pass on now to another major issue.

ANNOUNCER: *A second major question which* ROUND TABLE *listeners ask is, "How can Italian Fascism be decisively defeated—by air bombardment, by internal revolution, or by recognizing the Free Italy movements in the democratic countries as the real government of Italy?"*

MR. DEUTSCH: Naturally, the only completely decisive defeat that we could inflict upon Italy would have to come by way of invasion, but since we've agreed that invasion for the moment is a very uncertain promise and that we cannot be sure that we will be able to undertake such a move for many months to come, we may have to consider other military movements.

There's been a great deal of attention paid to bombing. Without any doubt aerial bombardment can affect the morale of any nation. But we and our British Allies, who have done such a splendid job of resisting the effects of bombing, should be the last to assume that the morale of an enemy nation can be completely destroyed by that method alone.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: For the sake of completeness, I think that I ought to insist that the bombing techniques of 1942 are considerably improved over the bombing techniques of 1941.

MR. DEUTSCH: That's certainly true.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Moreover, I want to say that the morale of the Italians is not quite as unified and resistant as was the morale of England in 1940 and 1941. Yet, I agree with you that bombardment alone will not effect the defeat of Italy.

It seems to me that we have to take into consideration the ideological and the political front. In that connection I'd like to point

out a misconception in the question that has just been read to us. It says: "or by recognizing the Free Italy movements in the democratic countries as the real government of Italy." That is not true. The Free Italian movement doesn't mean to set itself up as the real government of Italy, does it?

MR. BORGESE: I do not think that there is one Italian, or Italian-American, who really thinks that the exiles, or former exiles, should build an Italian government that should be forced upon the Italians, pre-empting their wills and purposes of tomorrow. But what is thought generally is that they could provide a bridge of communication. Whenever the Americans land in Italy, these Italians, or former Italians, could build a kind of vanguard for the preparation of Italy for her future.

MR. DEUTSCH: The American people, I believe, are very much interested but do not have much information on these Free Italy movements. I myself felt that I knew a good deal about it a few years ago. When I was in Paris in 1936 and 1938, I had a chance to associate myself with some of the leaders of that movement like Francesco Nitti and Carlo Rosselli, who has since been assassinated by the Fascists. In Italy I had some chance to gaze at underground movements.

That was some years ago. What is the situation now? Mr. Borgese, you are a prominent member of the Free Italian movement yourself. Could you tell us something about its present situation?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: May I interrupt there a moment? It's rather fortunate that all three of us have had some association with the Free Italian movement, at least in that we know members of the Free Italian movement. I, too, knew Rosselli slightly. I have met Sforza and Salvemini. It therefore seems to me that we might with profit examine these persons.

I should like to ask Mr. Borgese, since I assume that he knows them better than either of us, to tell us who are the outstanding leaders of the Free Italian movement.

Mr. Borgese: I should like to mention first of all, of course, Salvemini. He's our great old man but very juvenile in his activity and in his thought. He's an American citizen and quite resolved to respect his allegiance to America, which he loves profoundly, but he's very warmly interested in the future of Italy. I think that he could be immensely useful if his services were asked and used in the right way.

Mr. Gottschalk: Salvemini, I should point out, was a professor of history in Italy and is now visiting professor of Italian literature at Harvard.

Mr. Deutsch: What of Sforza?

Mr. Borgese: Sforza certainly is the most authoritative political leader of the Free Italian movements, and he is virtually the chief of any strictly political movement starting from this group. He is closely associated in many respects with the Mazzini Society —the most important association of Italians and Italo-Americans.[3] That is, he is the man of action whose record is made magnificent by the steadfastness of his opposition to Fascism since the earliest days and whose authority is certainly very great.

Mr. Deutsch: Another name that I have frequently heard is Pacciardi, but I know very little about him.

Mr. Borgese: Pacciardi is a Republican combatant who gave a magnificent account of himself in the Spanish Civil War, fighting, of course, on the side of the Loyalists and contributing also very remarkably to the victory of Guadalajara against the Fascists.

He's trying hard at this moment to build an Italian Legion that should be a kind of shock troop when the moment of the invasion of Italy happens.

Mr. Gottschalk: There are other names, too, that I think that

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[3] *Le Nazioni Unite* (United Nations) is the weekly newspaper of the Mazzini Society.

we might mention but that are less important than the ones we have mentioned.

I should like to raise this question now. We have here concrete symbols—names that are known to Italians and should be better known in America. What kind of a program ought these symbols or these persons to set up?

MR. DEUTSCH: The American people are naturally very much interested to note what degree of unity and agreement there is among the Italian exiles. We know, for example, that, on the question of an Italian Legion, there are many prominent Italian exiles who do not believe that it is a feasible move or a proper one to make. On the other hand, I do believe that there is some agreement on such very important issues as the attitude to be taken toward the Papacy.

The Papacy naturally is interested in seeking security for the future and would like reassurance on such points as its past agreements with Mussolini. Is there concurrence on the continuance of the agreements of the Lateran Pacts of 1929?[4]

MR. BORGESE: I think that all Free Italians in the democratic world are of one opinion on this point. That is, they absolutely abhor even the slightest idea of a persecution against the Catholic Church. They absolutely want the Lateran Treaty in as far as it gives to the Papacy the small territory of Vatican City and absolute

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[4] On February 11, 1939, three treaties were signed between the Italian government and the Vatican: (1) A Political Treaty, which recognized the full and independent sovereignty of the Holy See in the city of the Vatican; (2) a Concordat, to regulate the condition of religion and of the Church in Italy; and (3) a Financial Convention, in accordance with which the Holy See shall receive 750,000,000 lire in cash and 1,000,000,000 lire in Italian five per cent state bonds. This sum is to be a definitive settlement of all the financial claims of the Holy See against Italy in consequence of the loss of its temporal power in 1870. The treaty and concordat were ratified and the sum of 750,000,000 lire paid on June 7, 1929. From *The Statesman's Yearbook, 1941*, edited by M. Epstein (London: Macmillan & Co., 1941).

ITALY

asphalt
coal
C copper
coral
cotton
dairy produce
goats
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I iron
L lead
lemons
maize
marble
olives
oranges
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sardines
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SCALE
0 25 50 75 100 MILES
0 25 50 75 100 KILOMETERS
TURIN
MILAN
BRESCIA
PAVIA
VERONA
PADUA
GENOA
VENICE
TRIESTE
FIUME
SPEZIA
BOLOGNA
PISA
R. ARNO
FLORENCE
RIMINI
ANCONA
ELBA
ASSISI
CORSICA
ADRIATIC

CAGLIARI
TYRRHENIAN
SEA
CAPUA
FOGGIA
NAPLES
VESUVIUS
MOLFETTA
POTENZA
BRIN-
DISI
TARANTO
BIZERTE
MATEUR
TUNIS
TRAPANIO
PALERMO
MARSALA
MAZZARA
CARONIA
MESSINA
REGGIO
GIRGENTI
PANTELLARIA
CATANIA
VITTORIA
SYRACUSE
MALTA
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ROUND TABLE PICTOMAP
by Harold Haydon

independence and liberty in the manifestation of its spiritual ministry, which they want to remain totally untouched.

On the other hand, in what concerns the constitution and handling of the future Italian Republic, they want absolute separation of church and state, according to the democratic pattern, valid especially in America.

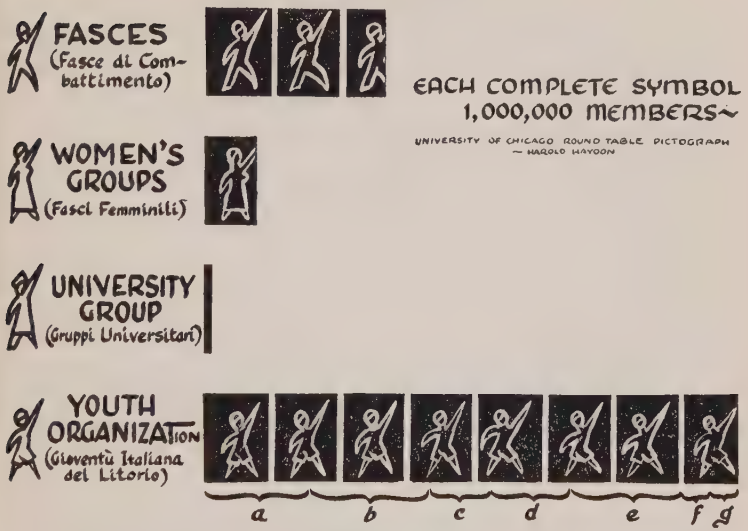
MR. DEUTSCH: Would they be willing to grant the Pope the right of an international guarantee for his position?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Let me interrupt at that point. The question of church and international politics is so important and so likely to lead us astray that I hope it can be reserved for a future ROUND TABLE.

MR. BORGESE: Let me say, however, that I think that they would very well give that guarantee because they think that everything must be international and supernational in the future world.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That leads us to a number of verbal symbols that I should like to analyze a little further. What would be the words, the slogans of the Free Italian movement? I'm skeptical about slogans, and yet I think that they should be brought into our discussion. What are some of the slogans that the Free Italians—Free Italy—would offer to the Italians?

MR. BORGESE: I think that they would be careful in using words that have been hackneyed, such as "liberalism," such as "democracy." But I think that they would use with the greatest impact words like "liberty," like "dignity," like "bread," like "joy" even. That is, I think that one must speak to the Italians in terms of universal justice and the dignity of man. I think that it must be brought home to them that the war that we are fighting is not a war for conquest, or for keeps, but that it is a war for ideas and the religious elevation of man and that the idea that we have in mind is that a supernational—a universal—order will reduce the sov-



* From *World Almanac, 1942*. Within the youth organization were the following:

Boys

(*a*)	4–5, Figli della Lupa	1,546,389
(*b*)	6–14, Balilla	1,746,560
(*c*)	14–18, Avanguardisti	906,785
(*d*)	18–21, Giovani Fascisti	1,176,798

Girls

(*e*)	Piccole Italiane	1,622,766
(*f*)	Giovani Italiane	441,254
(*g*)	Giovani Fascisti	450,995

ereignty of the single nations and that nobody will feel himself depressed or oppressed in a world of anarchy and of perpetual strife.

Mr. Deutsch: One thing that the American people certainly would want to know is the kind of support that we can give this movement. For example, is it not possible to prevent the Italians

from exploiting our lack of commitments to Italy, a reassurance for the future?

The Italian and German propaganda always claims that the German and Italian people are fighting for their existence and that the only one who has now made any kind of commitment is Josef Stalin, who told the Germans that there would be no division of the German people and that Germany would even be maintained as a military power. He made no commitment on Italy.

Could we not make some move in that direction?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I think that it is important that we indicate that we do not have any territorial ambitions with regard to Italy, just as we have indicated that we have no territorial ambitions with regard to France.

It is important that the Italians, as well as Frenchmen, understand that what we are fighting for, and I assume what Free Italy is fighting for, is not nationalism or nationalistic advantage, but the place of Italy and the place of the other countries, as far as we are concerned, in an international order. It is a lasting peace that we are after rather than victory or territorial advantage.

MR. BORGESE: Which amounts to saying that America should learn more and more to consider this not as a war among nations and empires, not as a war against Italy, not even as a war against Germany, but as a war against Fascism and Naziism. Therefore, what we have in mind for the future is quite another order in that it relates to the Italians, not Italy, and to the Germans, not Germany.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I agree with that.

There is one thing that gives me pause with regard to the Free Italy movement. It is a movement created outside of Italy and is somewhat in the nature of the Bourbon movement after the fall of Napoleon. You remember, it was accused of coming back in the baggage train of the Allies. Doesn't that scare you somewhat?

MR. BORGESE: To a certain extent, because the Bourbon was

proposed to the French as a permanent new order, whereas in this case I am speaking of vanguards. The example of the Bourbons could be very well counterweighed by the organization of Czechoslovakia during the war, where we were able to establish a government that gave a good account of itself for the remaining years.

Mr. Deutsch: I should certainly agree. We simply have no other choice. The alternatives are a deal with the powers that have accommodated themselves with Fascism or to try a simple American and Allied military administration of Italy. We might there remember the old dictum, "You can do every thing with bayonets except sit on them."

Mr. Gottschalk: We seem to be extraordinarily agreed that there are several dangerous misconceptions about Italy in this country and abroad. The worst one is that military conquest alone will suffice. Military victory alone may end the war, but it will not make for lasting peace. What is needed is a concrete symbol of democratic resurgence in Italy.

We think, therefore, that the moral and political potentialities of the Free Italy movement ought to be exploited to the full, not alone in the form of verbal ideals, but also in a concrete program to be realized through trustworthy and specific leaders.

Around the Round Table . . . .

Giuseppe Antonio Borgese, now professor of Italian literature at the University of Chicago, was born in Polizzi Generosa (Palermo), Italy, and was educated at the University of Florence, receiving his Ph.D. there in 1903. Dr. Borgese has taught in Italy at the University of Rome and the University of Milan. As well as his interest in academic life, he has been closely associated with politics. During Orlando's premiership (1917–1918), he was head of the Press and Propaganda Bureau. In 1918, he organized the Congress and Pact of Rome among nations of the Hapsburg monarchy and in the same year was head of the Italian delegation to the Inter-Allied Conference in London, in August. Professor Borgese was a leader of democratic opinion in Italy, calling for the League of Nations and the New Europe and strongly opposing Nationalism and Fascism. He refused to take the Fascist oath, and, in 1931, left Italy and came to the United States where in 1938 he became a citizen. Since being in this country, he has taught at the University of California, the New School for Social Research, and Smith College as well as the University of Chicago. He is the author of many books on poetry, fiction, criticism, history, philosophy, and politics which were published in Italy. His first book in English was *Goliath: The March of Fascism* (1937), an authoritative work on Fascism. Since then he has published *The City of Man* (in collaboration) (1940) and has contributed regularly to many periodicals.

Harold C. Deutsch, who is an associate professor of modern European history, has been at the University of Minnesota since 1929. Mr. Deutsch received his A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of Wisconsin and was granted his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University. As well as studying in this country, Dr. Deutsch has done extensive research and traveling abroad. He has studied in universities in both Paris and Vienna, and he spent a year in Germany and Italy studying local government. Since May, 1940, Professor Deutsch has been broadcasting "Backgrounding World News" over WCCO. In January, 1943, he will enter the service of the government in the Board of Economic Warfare, as chief of the European Axis section. Dr. Deutsch is the author of *The Genesis of Napoleonic Imperialism* (1938) and wrote two chapters on Nazi Germany in G. S. Ford (ed.), *Dictatorship in the Modern World* (1939).

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, professor of modern history at the University of Chicago, is especially interested in the field of French history and is an interpreter of French-American relations. He is the author of *Jean Paul Marat: A Study in Radicalism* (1927), which has also appeared in French translation; *The Era of the French Revolution* (1929); *Lafayette Comes to America* (1935); *Lafayette Joins the American Army* (1937); *Lady-in-Waiting: The Romance of Lafayette and Aglaé de Hunolstein* (1939); and *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution* (1942). Dr. Gottschalk received his A.B., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Cornell University and later was associated with the department of history there. He has taught at the University of Illinois and the University of Louisville and since 1925 has been associated with the University of Chicago. At the present time Dr. Gottschalk is also assistant editor of the *Journal of Modern History*.

MORE ON THIS TOPIC

BORGESE, G. A., *Goliath: The March of Fascism.* New York: Viking Press, 1937. *The background of culture and politics underlying the rise of Italian Fascism.*

"Crack-Up of Italy?" *United States News,* November 27, 1942. *Says Italians face choice between survival and loyalty to Mussolini.*

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SFORZA, CARLO, *The Real Italians.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. *The opponent of Mussolini's regime argues that Fascism is a temporary aberration of Italian politics which leaves the basic democratic characteristics of the nation unchanged.*

———, "A Blow for Freedom," *Nation*, November 7, 1942. *Attorney General Biddle's order that the six hundred thousand Italian citizens living in America are no longer "enemy aliens" is called the first act of the revolt against Fascism.*

———, "Realities and Illusions about Italy," *Free World*, July, 1942. *Says that the reality about Italy is a humanistic tradition and the desire for a democratic republic.*

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

1. Do you think that Mussolini and the Fascists have so changed Italy in the last twenty years that there is no hope for Italian democracy? Or do you think that the Italians are basically a democratic people and that twenty years of tyranny would only increase their desire for democracy?

2. In your opinion what are the principles of Fascism? Do you think that we are or should be fighting anything more than a military war against Italy? What moral issues are at stake in our war with Italy?

3. Churchill also said on November 29 that "one man, and one man alone, has brought them [Italians] to this pass. We tried our best to induce them to remain neutral, enjoying peace and prosperity and exceptional profits in a world of storm. But Mussolini could not resist the temptation of stabbing prostrate France and what he thought was helpless Britain in the back." To what do you believe the present plight of Italy is due? What part do you believe that Mussolini, economic poverty, and Fascism have played in the creation of this situation?

4. Would you favor the acceptance of a separate peace with Italy in which Mussolini is replaced by the Italian king? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such a course. What groups favor or oppose this alternative?

5. Do you feel that there is any possibility of a revolution in Italy? If so, under what circumstances? What do you think the character of such a revolution would be? Compare the future of Italy if the Axis wins the war and the future of Italy if the United Nations win the war.

THE PEOPLE SAY—

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE audience on "After One Year of War—What Have We Learned?" broadcast December 6, 1942.

*

Exchange and Distribution the Problem—

"In today's discussion, Arnold had a lot to say about free competition and how it could enormously increase production. This is nothing new. . . . . But the difficulty is the exchange and distribution of the goods that can so easily be produced. It is up to Mr. Arnold to give us a method of effecting this exchange of goods, for goods themselves are not wealth until they are put to use. Under the present system goods are not produced for use, but to sell for profit. . . . ." A listener from Chicago, Illinois.

*

Better Individuals Is the Need—

". . . . As I heard some of the fine sentiments expressed on that program, especially about the kind of peace we must have after this war, the brotherhood of man, etc., etc., I could not help but wonder if we would be much farther in that direction after this war than we were before. We heard high ideals sounded most vociferously during that war, and the results were far from idealistic. . . . . Until we get more Christianity, and far less of greed and selfishness into individual hearts and National programs, we are not going to get very far in the ultimate solution of World problems. . . . ." A listener from Kadoka, South Dakota.

*

Need Planned Economy—

"After listening to your round table discussion to-day, I was left with the feeling of a sense of futility.

If, as your talk seems to imply, we are to return after this war to an economy of laissez faire capitalism, it does not make sense. To me that means we have learned nothing in the economic field. Your dramatization of the difference between fascism and christian [*sic*] democracy seems to me to be an appeal to prejudice rather than a free discussion of the question. This thing is not so simple as all that. . . . . Whether or not I am right or wrong, this discussion seemed more propaganda for the American way of life of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover than attempt to explain what we should have learned in the economic field by one year of war . . . . might it

not be possible that a social defeat was in the offing after peace comes, if we return our production and distribution back to private enterprise?

This criticism may seem unjust considering that many fine statements were made during the discussion. The statements are more less [*sic*] meaningless considering your conclusions. . . . . As I see it, the problem, industrial development [*sic*] demands some sort of planned economy if our country is to have any thing resembling social peace. . . . ." A listener from Coshocton, Ohio.

*

People Wanted Motor Cars—

". . . . Today one of your speakers paid an indirect compliment to the motor car industry, citing it as an example of the benefits to be derived from unrestricted or full production whereas the building industry was held up as an instance of what occurs when production is arbitrarily curtailed for the purpose of maintaining higher wages and prices. Such a comparison is unsound for it fails to take into account the fact that tremendous production of automobiles was predicted on the ability to merchandise and sell a vast number of vehicles which in turn was possible only because of easy consumer credit. . . . . Because the people desired motor cars more than anything else, that industry was able to achieve great production and utilize the major portion of the maximum available consumer credit at the expense of other industries whose production, as a consequence could not be expanded because it could not be marketed. . . . ." A listener from Independence, Missouri.

*

Must Have Better Distribution—

". . . . production alone will not solve the problem and even getting our production in better balance will not solve it. Until we have found a better way of distribution, not only among individuals in the United States but all over the whole world, those two problems must be solved together, and I believe it would work out not only to the advantage of the submerged strata, but even to the ultimate advantage of the over-privileged strata. . . . ." A listener from Lexington, Missouri.

A CHRISTMAS GIFT, especially appropriate this year. The ROUND TABLE transcript offers weekly discussions of issues of current importance, as well as additional maps, pictograms, reading suggestions, and footnote information. Fill out the subscription blank below and mail it to University of Chicago ROUND TABLE.

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228. *War Comes to the Farm*
229. *Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now?*
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233. *Health in Wartime*
234. *Wage Policy in Wartime*
235. *The Rubber Crisis*
236. *Farm Parity*
237. *Congress and the War*
238. *Your Taxes*
239. *The Rediscovery of America*
240. *The Press*
241. *Manpower*
242. *The New Congress*
243. *France*
244. *Crisis Administration*
245. *The Challenge to Local Government*
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ROUND TABLE NETWORK OF 111 STATIONS

2:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Pensacola, Fla.	WCOA	1370
Baltimore, Md.	WBAL	1090	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Wilmington, Dela.	WDEL	1150
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1240

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Duluth, Minn. and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	810
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	San Antonio, Texas	WOAI	1200
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310	Weslaco, Texas	KRGV	1290
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230	Wichita, Kas.	KANS	1240

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240			

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Frenso, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590

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Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	4:00 P.M., C.W.T.

Social Security:

Challenge to Democracy

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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DECEMBER 20, 1942

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NEIL H. JACOBY, School of Business, University of Chicago

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, Department of Economics, University of Chicago

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SUGGESTED READINGS

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"Great Britain," *Time,* December 14, 1942.

"Security Deficit," *Newsweek,* October 26, 1942.

[PRINTED IN U·S·A]